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LARD TIMES.

# IMPORTANT SUGGESTIONS

TO

LABORERS IN THE MANUFACTORY AND THE WORK-  
SHOP, THE FIELD, AND THE MINE.

WITH

SOME REMARKS UPON THE PROPOSED REDUCTION  
OF THE DUTY UPON RAILROAD  
IRON, AND COAL.

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THE following short articles, which have lately appeared in the *Transcript*, over the signature of "Profit and Loss," have been deemed worthy of being collected and put into a pamphlet form, for circulation, by the friends of a tariff sufficient to afford ample protection to the industry of the country.


No particular merit is claimed for these articles, except that they may serve to suggest to other minds the importance of the subject, and lead to a more full and ample discussion, of which the limits of a small paper do not of course admit. In importance the subject is second to no other before the country; and unless we return to the policy of protecting ourselves, we can expect no permanent change in our financial affairs. On the contrary, we shall, in all human probability, go on from bad to worse. No people have ever been more deceived than our own in the adoption of the Free Trade policy, as that which is to govern our legislation in future, or rather in sending men to Washington who have succeeded in forcing that doctrine upon the country, by the passage of the tariff of 1846, and who declare, from the highest positions in the Government, that in the laying of duties no regard is to be paid to the protection of our own industry, except incidentally,—and of course, as soon as possible, the protection now afforded is to be

Labor & Industry Rel 14 Nov 46 Knicker

abandoned. The States, cannot, of course, exercise this power, so important, and, to a people who would be independent and rich, so necessary and indispensable. It becomes, then, a matter of the highest importance that the people, more especially the working classes, should be aroused to the danger that threatens them. We are in more danger from foreign manufactures than from foreign votes, for if the latter may temporarily interfere in our politics, the former are crippling our industry, keeping back and undeveloped the immense resources of the country, and by draining our specie, and bringing every year a balance of trade against us, bringing us directly as debtors into the hands of a hard creditor, as Great Britain is usually found to be. It is said that there is now not a broadcloth mill running in the country. A slight protection would enable us to turn out a better and a cheaper article than we buy abroad, and give employment to thousands. It is only necessary to think of the immense amount of that article consumed in this country, to see how many millions could be retained at home, and employment given to our own people. The above fact, in regard to so important a manufacture as broadcloth, which is consumed so universally, and to such an enormous extent, affords a very good commentary on the working of the tariff of 1846. The object of this pamphlet is, as has been said, simply to keep the subject in the minds of the people of this country, and to suggest to that common sense, in which they have never been found deficient, such a policy for the future as it is believed will bring us out of our present condition, and place us in one of permanent and lasting prosperity. Every person in the country, East, West, North or South, whatever may be his pursuit, has a direct interest, in building up a home and sure market for what he produces, or makes, whether he

labors with his hands or with his head; for we are mutually dependent, so that what benefits one, benefits all, and no class or interest can suffer without injury to the rest.

Boston, *Jan.* 1, 1855.



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# HARD TIMES.

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I noticed in your paper of yesterday the fact, that the excess of specie shipments over last year is ten million dollars, and that shipments are likely to continue large. This constant drain of our specie has been going on ever since the destruction of the old tariff, and since that time money has been hard to obtain, and business men distressed, year after year, almost without intermission. The moment money becomes a little easier, away go the orders for foreign goods, to be paid for in specie. The importers are beginning to feel the effect of this state of things, and will, no doubt, come to see that a good tariff is not only the interest of the farmer and the mechanic, but of themselves,—those, at least, who do a legitimate and regular business, and mean to do a safe one. Nothing but a tariff can ever bring prosperity to this country, because that alone develops its labor, which is the only wealth of a country, and, at the same time, builds up a home market for the cotton of the South, and the grain of the Middle and Western States, more sure and less fluctuating than any foreign market can be. In ordinary times we can send very little produce abroad except cotton, and the balance of trade is constantly against us. Experience shows, that in those articles which have been protected long enough to enable us to acquire skill, as for instance, cheap cottons, we can supply at a less cost to the planter than he could buy abroad, besides taking a large part of his cotton for home consumption, and helping the price of it in foreign markets. What is true of cotton is true of all other things; would have been true of rail-road iron by this time had not our new tariff operated to check our own manufacture, to help to build up that of Great Britain.



We may set it down as an axiom, that the country which manufactures will always have an advantage over the one that it supplies. It will always have the balance of trade in its favor, and will hold its customer more or less in dependence. It will grow rich, while its customer, who pays for its wares in cotton, corn, flour, pork, &c., and makes up the balance in hard cash, if he can get it, will be growing poor. We notice this everywhere, with nations and with individuals, almost without exception.

It is the party that adds four or six fold to the value of the raw material that gets rich, and brings the producer gradually to be his debtor, as we are now fast becoming in debt to Great Britain.

We talk about the Declaration of Independence. The fact is, we have been playing into the hands of Great Britain for years, and are doing so now, and becoming anything but independent of her. A law, protecting and encouraging our own labor, and keeping our money at home to pay our own workmen, is the only true Declaration of Independence,—certainly the only course likely to keep us independent of foreign creditors, and is the only way in which we are again to realize a state of financial prosperity.

The average dividends of the best factories, such as Lowell, have been about six per cent. per annum; but if we take all that have been started in New England, we shall find it falling far below that,—no very great business, certainly, for the manufacturers. The gain has been to the consumer and the country at large. Home competition (the severest kind) has brought prices down, and prevented, and always will prevent, large profits to the manufacturer; but the mechanic, the operative, the farmer, and so on, through all ranks and classes of society, derive the benefits. They have good wages, cheap clothes, and a market for the produce of their farms or plantations, if they are producers. There is no interest or individual in the community that is not benefited, directly or indirectly, by a good tariff, not excepting the cotton planter or importers themselves. Such an opinion I have heard from an



eminent and extensive importer in New York City, and, without doubt, he is right. It is now time for our people to be waking up upon this subject, so that when Congress comes together some effort may be made for the good of the country, as well as for the advancement of this or that politician, or the thousand and one projects which, compared with the importance of a proper tariff, sink into utter insignificance.

## HARD TIMES.

The New York Evening Post contains some strictures upon a short article of mine in the Transcript, upon the cause of our pecuniary troubles. I cannot see, however, that the writer meets the difficulty at all. If our extravagance will account for the pressure in the money market now, it must account for it for the last six or seven years, during the whole of which time money has been worth from twelve to eighteen per cent., sometimes a little easier, and then a little harder; but at no time easy at six or seven per cent.; and at no period has it been possible for the great enterprises, that were unfortunately undertaken about the time the tariff bill of 1846 was passed, to negotiate for funds without paying enormous and ruinous amounts of extra interest; while the condition of the business man has hardly been better.

These are facts, for the truth of which I appeal to the experience of every merchant in the country, and would ask the New York editor if he thinks "*extravagance*" is sufficient cause for it. There must be some deeper cause than that. If we had only ourselves to pay, and protected our own industry (the real source of wealth), instead of legislating for that of Great Britain, we should have no great reason to fear "*extravagance*." The editor says that the times are hard in England also. That may be, just at this moment, and while she has war on her hands; but England is the great commercial centre, making, by her protective policy, all parts of the world her tributaries, and keeping the balance of trade always in her favor. Her manufacturers are tempted by the reduction of our tariff, and the facility to fraud afforded by the *ad valorem* system, to send out to their agents here (mostly Englishmen) large surplus stocks, to be worked off, even at a loss, in order to relieve their own market, thereby, also, helping to break down our own industry, drain us of our specie, and

keep us constantly in her debt. Our very rail-road iron we buy abroad, instead of employing our own manufactures.

It would be cheaper to pay our own people twenty-five if not fifty per cent. more for rail-road iron than to pay the present price to the foreigner. The reason is obvious, and it applies to a thousand other articles with the same force, viz.: that, in the first place, we develop our own resources, and, by paying our own workmen, enable them to buy and pay for other things, thus benefiting every trade and pursuit in the country; and secondly, by building up a population which could afford to travel on the rail-road when it was done, and thus give it that support which it now lacks. It might almost be said, that it would be cheaper for us in the end to employ and pay our own people to make our rail-road iron, than to have it given to us from abroad, while it is well known, that after a few years of protection, home competition brings down the price below that at which it can be imported, as is the case now with our coarse cottons, which we can export, and beat the English in some of their East India markets, where, it is said, some marks of our manufacturers are counterfeited. This cotton cloth, after a few years of protection, we send to the planter, and send him a cheaper and better article than he could ever have obtained but for the tariff—and take his own cotton to make it with. We consume a large and increasing portion of his crop, and help keep up the price of the remainder in the foreign market. In view of such benefits as these, direct, tangible, and certain, how trifling and unworthy to be named, appear the complaints against a tariff, which, of late years, have been heard from our Southern neighbors. What a complete refutation is here found, of those theories put forth by Southern politicians to break down the protective policy of the country. For the imaginary benefit of buying directly, and without duties, from a foreign nation which takes their cotton, they would give up and sacrifice the entire manufacturing industry of their own country, and return to a state of colonial dependency on Great Britain—for such would be their condition, though they may have nominally declared their in-

dependence. But, besides the indirect benefits flowing to them from the accumulating wealth and power of their own country, I have shown that the direct and immediate advantage of the tariff to them is such, that the small advance they pay, for a short time, on the protected article, *is not to be named* when compared with the results, which, to them, are a *cheaper and better article* than they could otherwise have had ; a new market—a home market—and a sure and rapidly-increasing one for their great staple ; independence of foreign influence, by the accumulation of real wealth at home ; and providing for ourselves the sinews of war as well as those comforts, and luxuries, and arts, which embellish and adorn society in peace and in war, and which can alone secure to us real independence of foreign factors, who are always in advance to us, and holding over our heads each year, the balance that appears to be against us, to be finally paid by repudiation and war, or by a sacrifice that reduces us to the condition of mortgagors to foreign creditors, while our own industry is suffering for want of support. Instead of forming leagues to use no foreign articles of dress, a much more simple and certain way would be to form leagues to keep the articles out of the country. We could then keep our money at home, and should hear but occasionally, and but for short seasons only, of *hard times*.

Home competition, the severest of all competitions, soon brings down the price of the protected article, when we have command of our own market. What is true of coarse cottons would have been true of rail-road iron, broadcloth, and many other things, had not our last tariff nipped those manufactures in the bud, and compelled us to pay much more for our iron and cloth than we could have bought the same for of our own people, after a few years application of industry and enterprise, and the consequent acquisition of the requisite skill.

As a general rule, the nation that manufactures will draw to itself the wealth of the one that produces, and will grow rich faster than the other, in proportion as the manufactured article is increased in value over the raw material, by the

hand of labor,—as a pound of cotton manufactured is worth several pounds in its natural state. Instead of retaining to ourselves the benefit of this rule, we have, by a most suicidal policy, thrown it away, and are now suffering the consequences, not of our extravagance, but of our listening to the syren voice of free trade, one of the greatest and most dangerous falacies which a nation like ours can adopt.

I still believe that no permanent ease will come to our money markets until we apply the remedy, and take the necessary steps, to build up *ourselves*, instead of becoming every year more in debt and dependent upon foreign nations.



## THE HARD TIMES.

I notice an article in the Transcript of the 27th ult., signed "Merchant," in reply to a short communication of mine upon the hard times. It contains much that is plausible, and much that is true. The writer begins by saying the present tariff is the best we have had. If I was a large manufacturer, and was looking to my own interests, I should say the same. If such an one can live under the present tariff, by the application of superior skill and ingenuity, he can, when a good year comes round, do perhaps something more than that, and stands, on the whole, in a better condition than he would under an increased duty upon the article he makes. In that case, new concerns would spring up, and he would suffer more from home competition than he does now from the foreigner. I suppose most of our large manufacturers are in this position, and that they would not move to alter the present tariff. But would not new establishments springing up benefit the workman, the laborer, the consumer of the article manufactured, by reducing its price; the man who has a bushel of wheat or corn, or a pound of cotton, or a pair of shoes, or a pound of butter to sell; in fact, every interest that can be named or imagined, except perhaps the very one which, in the common view of the subject, would be the one most benefited, viz., the manufacturer or capitalist. The tariff that develops most rapidly the resources of the country, and adds most to its wealth, is the best, which certainly cannot be said of the present tariff under which we go abroad, and pay millions upon millions for the very iron upon our roads, (to speak of one thing,) while it is lying in countless tons buried in the mountains of Pennsylvania, and the fire of our forges suffered to go out, instead of being multiplied as they might be.

Again the writer asks, what interest has suffered in the last six or seven years, and is it the farmer, the manufacturer, or



merchant? &c. It is perfectly true, that the great interests of the country have been prosperous. Our resources and advantages are such, that with the immense tide of emigration flowing in upon us, it would be impossible for it to be otherwise. Hardly any legislation could repress the tremendous energies of this new country, or retard its growth, the elements of which we possess to an extent unparalleled in the history of the world. But could not legislation do much to favor that growth? Supposing the millions we have sent to England had been kept at home, and paid to our own people for making such articles as we can produce here to advantage, would not the real wealth of the country have been increased almost beyond calculation, and is it possible to believe that our money market would have continued in such a state as we have seen it?

The writer thinks that the high price of money has grown out of the profitable use of it. That the demand for money has been great there is no doubt, growing partly out of the natural increase of the business of the country, the necessities of individuals, and more especially of railroads, that must be finished at whatever cost, or be lost entirely. How profitable the business of those engaged in commerce may have been, "Merchant" can perhaps better judge than the writer. I presume, however, they would hardly agree to his statement in regard to their profits for the last few years. I have discovered no disposition since the tariff of 1846 to enter upon any new enterprises, excepting such as grew out of what I deem the unfortunate discovery of gold in California, which has kept up a fallacious appearance of prosperity, without adding anything to the wealth of the country. The mechanical and manufacturing interests of the country (the real source of its wealth,) have not by their increase caused any new demand for money, and yet in the money market there seems to have been nothing but hard times since the famine year, in which the balance of specie was brought in our favor. Since then, the specie has been constantly going out about as fast as it arrives from California, while a large part of what remains

is shut up in the Sub-Treasury vaults (now over twenty million dollars) where it is of no use to any one. These I deem the reasons why we have not had money enough for all our uses and for realizing any and all the profits that could be offered to us, and that, too, without paying exorbitantly for it. This difficulty I believe a good tariff would remove, as it would tend to keep the balance in our favor, but more especially would induce us to develop the great natural resources of our country, to add in an immense ratio to its wealth and independence, by opening a home market and a sure one to every one who either raises an article of produce, or makes anything that is called for by the wants or luxuries of men.

“ Merchant ” remarks that he hopes to hear no more of the “ *exploded theory* of protection.” I beg to ask him, what Boston would have been without that *exploded* system?—what New England would have been?—where would Lowell, Lawrence, Manchester, and the hundreds of smaller manufacturing establishments scattered through New England, have been? The answer is, *nowhere*; and Boston might perhaps, now have been a city of fifty thousand inhabitants, though probably much less than that. Why *explode* a policy that, more than all things else, has made us what we are? Why not, on the contrary, wish to carry it out to its fullest extent, so as to see the whole country dotted over with thriving villages and rich cities? There is one sure way of witnessing such a result, and but one, and that is by protecting our own industry. That should be the *first and chief care* of every nation, and then questions of currency and finance may very safely be left to take care of themselves; the stream of wealth will then set constantly towards our shore, and not, as since the act of 1846, be continually running in the opposite direction.

## ABOUT BUSINESS MATTERS.

I am tempted to trespass once more on your indulgence, in consequence of an article in the Transcript of the 8th, signed W., and which alludes to some previous statements of mine. The writer observes that he is surprised that I should consider all our pecuniary difficulties as growing out of the present tariff. I consider that tariff, with the temptations to fraud under the ad valorem system, to be certainly the principal cause, though others of less importance may exist; and one strong reason for so thinking appears to me to be this—that it is not in fact for a *present state of pecuniary distress* alone that we have to account, but substantially and with but little variation, that same distress has extended through a period of five or six years, during the whole of which time the pressure in the money market has been nearly as great as at present. I have, in course of that time, written several similar articles, always ascribing the same cause, always predicting the same future, and always finding my predictions verified.

Now here is the difficulty, and we must look for some more permanent cause than extravagance to account for a state of things existing so long, and without variation or interruption.

According to my observation, though there has been at times much and disastrous speculation in stocks, yet there have been no enterprises undertaken based on a confidence in the future. Merchants have been extremely cautious, and money hard, during the whole time which has elapsed since the year of the famine in Ireland, which came, unfortunately, just after the tariff act of 1846 was passed to deceive the nation into the idea of a prosperity, which could continue only while the call for our breadstuffs continued, and the specie returned to pay for them. Where has been the extravagance then? I do not see it, and more than that, I cannot believe it could possibly have existed so constantly as to cause a perpetual and

never ending pressure in the money market. The cause, I say, does not exist, and if it exists, is wholly inadequate to account for the difficulty, because that difficulty is of too long standing, too chronic—not a sudden cold brought on by exposure or indiscretion—but a rheumatism, which, though it allows, perhaps, of short intervals of suffering, yet keeps the patient on his bed, or confined to his house from month to month, and from year to year. I hear of no greater complaints now of scarcity of money than I have heard for at least six years; and for an evil that is so permanent, we must look for some permanent cause. That cause I have suggested, and have no doubt that unless the remedy is applied, the next six years will be like the last, or, what is probable, much worse.

“W.” speaks of a petition to take off the duty on foreign coal. I never saw that petition, and certainly should not sign it. Coal has been, like some other things, higher than usual; but no extravagant price can long continue of any such article, that can be produced to such an unlimited extent. But suppose I pay to Pennsylvania a dollar a ton more than to a foreign state (and here lies the whole question of the tariff), should I not prefer to do so, and is it not my interest to do so? Most certainly it is. It is true I pay a dollar more, but I pay it to my neighbor who buys goods that I make. The money I pay is kept at home, and part of it comes back to me. I am also encouraging him to extend his business, and develop the hidden riches that lie embowelled in the earth, and so to increase the population, and to enrich my neighbourhood, and thus build up a sure and home market for my own labor, whether it is raising corn or cotton, or making shoes. Besides all which, the increase of my neighbor’s business is sure, by competition, to bring down the price of his coal, in a short time, to a dollar less than I can buy it for abroad. Another reason is, that in the event of difficulty or war with the foreign states, I have secured a sure and cheap supply of so important an article at home. It may be said that Nova Scotia will take our goods in return for coal, but that depends on



whether she can get them cheaper from England, and it is not the growth of a British province that I am so desirous of promoting, as that of my neighbors in Pennsylvania, who I am sure will buy of me. So we keep our money circulating among ourselves instead of sending it to fill the coffers of the Bank of England, or to be scattered on the plains of Sevastopol.

The argument in favor of securing our own market to our own manufacturers is much stronger than when applied to coal, for that is more of the nature of a production of the earth, and cannot enrich a community like the manufacture of any article (railroad iron for example) which requires a multiplicity and variety of workmen, and to which, by the hand of labor, is added many times its value over the raw material of which it is made. In this enhanced value consists the wealth that is added to the country.

My argument has been simply that a nation becomes populous, independent, and wealthy so far as it fosters and protects its manufacturing and mechanical industry, and that so far as it neglects to do so, it loses those advantages, and gives them up to others. The protection of these interests is the protection and advancement of each and every other interest (North and South), without excepting, perhaps, even that of our shipping. The power to afford this protection is among the very most important that Government can exercise. Yet we are informed by President Pierce, who comes from a State, no small part of whose wealth is due directly to the tariff, that this power is to be *abandoned by our General Government*. The States certainly cannot exercise it. What then is to become of it? I commend this subject to the new party which has just sprung up. If there ever was an American policy, this is one, and one that deserves the attention of every one who would not see us go on until we owe to Great Britain and foreign nations, more than we can pay, while our own industry languishes at our doors.

## BUSINESS MATTERS.

I was struck with the following paragraph in your paper of the 15th, taken from the New York Evening Post :

“ From the manufacturing districts in England the advices are, that in the almost total absence of orders from this country for woollen and cotton goods, the goods making for this market, which are always to some extent in reliance upon orders, will be sent here for sale on manufacturers’ account.”

This is precisely what was to have been expected. Our importers may have found out that a low tariff is, *in the end*, the worst thing for them, as it no doubt is, and so not being able to sell their present stock may cease for a time to order; but the foreign goods are not to be so easily kept out. They must be *sold* and pushed off in our markets by the agents of the manufacturers at some price, however low, and if not ordered will be sent without orders. This may not be so agreeable to our free trade friends of New York city, whose views of national interests extend, it is to be feared, not far beyond the limits of their own city; but who, it is probable, have taken but a superficial and false view of what that interest really is. They will find probably that if the industry of the country languishes, that their customers will be poor pay, and that when they cease to order, the foreigner himself steps in, and knocks down the prices still lower than at present.

The great free trade interests of the country have naturally centered in New York city, which is built up at the expense of all the rest of the country, by a large foreign trade; but it may well be a question whether her growth would not have been more solid and permanent, and desirable, if not so rapid, when resting upon a flourishing interior, on new cities springing up on every side, and the accumulation of real wealth all over



the country, all of which would have paid tribute to her, instead of resting upon a foreign trade which, though temporarily enriching *her*, is making her customers poor, and keeping the finances of the country in a state of continued embarrassment. Our New York friends may find the poisoned chalice commended to their own lips, and learn that they can enjoy no real and permanent prosperity that is not based upon the prosperity and growing wealth of the whole country, of which they form the great commercial centre.

It has been said, I know not with how much truth, that a certain leading and influential paper in New York has been bought by English gold, and been for a long time in the interests of British manufacturers, in order to convince Brother Jonathan how much better it is for him to adopt the principles of free trade. He is an apt scholar, and is now beginning fully to realize the result of that policy. New York editors generally have thought it best to try to convince him of its beneficial tendency, with the honorable exception of the New York Tribune, and lose no opportunity to cry out for free trade. Time, which proves all things, will show with how much wisdom they have acted, and will no doubt prove also, as it always has, that honesty is much the best policy.

The cry is now from New York that real estate is falling, and the immense amount of imported goods which have drained us of our specie, and crippled our banks, are not to be paid for by the purchase of them here, but the returns come in from the West and South in the shape of protested notes and broken promises. This is all right, and is a just retribution for abandoning American interests and American industry, the sole foundation of our wealth, for the temporary advantage of a large foreign trade, which in the end enriches not even the party that has the benefits of it, to anything like the extent that would be realized from the real growth and increased wealth, which an American policy would secure to the whole country, and which would flow in large and steady streams into our great commercial capital. We might by an efficient protective policy, add at least fifty million dollars

per annum to the wealth of the country, instead of losing, as we do, twenty-five million dollars. A difference of seventy-five million dollars could easily be effected, and our money kept at home. We should be immense gainers if we could keep out everything that we can make, and we might then admit tea, coffee, wines, &c., free of duty. Suppose that then our revenue should fall short, we could well afford direct taxation, and much better afford to raise double the present revenue than we can now afford the indirect payment of what is necessary for the expenses of government, or we might raise our revenue from those articles and others that we do not and cannot produce. If we were not a people who, as Mr. Barnum says, delight in a certain amount of humbug, and rather prefer it in some cases, though half conscious of it, we should have adopted such a policy long ago, and not waited till we were owing some two hundred million dollars to Great Britain, or until a general crash among ourselves should open our eyes to the suicidal policy of free trade. To us that policy has always been, and always will be suicidal, because all the benefit accrues to the manufacturing party, which is Great Britain. One leg wears the boot, and the other goes barefoot. That is precisely the operation of free trade between us and the nations of which we have always professed so much jealousy, and declared our independence, and to which we are now becoming a tributary, and dependent debtor.

## OUR WANTS AS A NATION.

There are some homely and seasonable truths conveyed in the remarks of your correspondent "Profit and Loss." This country of ours, with its grand proportions, presents itself to my view in the form of a giant, whose vital forces are chiefly employed in walking about and showing himself. We should have possessed at this time a plenty of Peels, Arkwrights, and Hargreaves, if their wings had not been clipped by an injudicious tariff, and millions of people free from commercial revulsions. Those unmerited and reproachful epithets, "Cotton Lords" and "Debased and Starving Operatives," that were used as instruments by unfledged political economists, in attacking the march of a hopeful national policy, were probably as potent and successful as any that could have been used in finally destroying it. The distinctive difference in forms of government was hardly recognized by the advocates of non-protection. Education in England, and France measurably, was, and still is, confined to privileged classes. In this respect our country has no parallel.

The Utopian theory of "starving operatives," was pressed to its utmost, and strange to say, though it had no foundation, it was sustained:—a thread of theory, spun for a thousand years, might not reach the *starving* point here. The people of this country are destined to continue an informed people; and where that is the case, human ingenuity will seek and find its own profit and advancement.

Do our men of intellectual culture and power satisfy themselves by employing their whole time in importing and copying the thoughts of foreign authors, when they can produce just as good themselves, duty free? It requires no talent to make out an order for cottons, cloths, silks and iron, and send it three thousand miles for execution, but it *does* require talent

to *make* them, and capital too. Why not employ *both* at home, and by so doing stimulate the physical energy and inventive genius of our people?

Why not aim at the establishment of physical as well as political independence? The more perfect the former, the more enduring the latter. What enabled England to raise *five hundred and eighty-five millions of pounds*, from 1792 to 1815, to put down Napoleon, except her moneyed supremacy, derived from her mineral wealth and manufacturing skill. The war expenditures of England for the single year of 1809 was *eighty-five million pounds*, or near *four hundred and fifty millions* of dollars!

There is often a great cry made about protecting the tillers of the soil! Every body knows, or ought to know, that our soil can take care of itself, and it will always teem with abundant crops where there is a rich *home* market; and the home market is to be made rich and sustained by the employment of manual, mechanical and intellectual labor.

"The home market is the important one, whether for words or things." When it is in a bad condition, can a foreign one restore it?

Are we right minded when we import rail-road iron to strap over and down our own interminable depots of virgin ore?

A thousand illustrations might be employed to enforce our ideas in this connection, but we well know that if we should write our fingers off, it would be of no avail, unless a million more throughout the land would do the same.

Make this country an arena for the exhibition of mechanical and manufacturing competition and prowess, and the competing crowds of young men for distinction in the lists of foreign importers (using chiefly other people's capital, and beggaring themselves and the nation) would wonderfully disperse: they might *then* commence the work of giving *stability* to the form, and bearing of Young America.

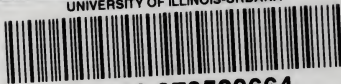
We are much in want of a Phidias, able to sculpture on the age, with an unmistakeable fidelity, a form of Protection that may be seen and honored of all.

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